

## Message Text

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ORIGIN INR-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12  
NEA-10 MMO-01 SIG-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11  
HA-05 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 /140 R

DRAFTED BY INR/DDR:JDONOVAN:LW  
APPROVED BY IO/ML:PWKRIEBEL  
ARA/RPP:CFINAN (INFO)  
AF/I:LSHURTLEFF (INFO)  
EA/RA:LMCNUTT (INFO)  
EUR:DGOOTT (INFO)  
NEA:SPERRY (INFO)

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R 182045Z JUL 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO NONALIGNED MOVEMENT COLLECTIVE  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA  
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AMEMBASSY MANILA  
AMEMBASSY MEXICO  
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NASSAU  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE  
AMEMBASSY QUITO

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE  
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR  
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA POUCH  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT POUCH  
AMEMBASSY BISSAU POUCH  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA POUCH  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA POUCH  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE POUCH  
AMEMBASSY KIGALI POUCH  
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE POUCH  
AMEMBASSY MBABANE POUCH  
AMEMBASSY MASERU POUCH  
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO POUCH  
USLO PEKING POUCH  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO POUCH  
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AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE POUCH  
XMT AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BISSAU  
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AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 181405

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PORG

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: ANALYSIS OF YUGOSLAV  
DRAFT FOR BELGRADE MINISTERIAL

REF: STATE 178240

1. THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE YUGOSLAV DRAFT  
DECLARATION (DATED JUNE 10) FOR THE BELGRADE MINISTERIAL  
CONFERENCE JULY 25-29 IS A RELATIVELY MODERATE DOCUMENT  
(IN NON-ALIGNED TERMS). EVEN THOUGH THE DRAFT HAS

ALREADY RECEIVED PROPOSED AMENDMENTS FROM OTHER MEMBERS, DEPT. BELIEVES IT WILL BE OF INTEREST BECAUSE IT REFLECTS YUGOSLAVIA'S ATTITUDE AND BECAUSE IT WILL SERVE AS A BASIS OF COMPARISON WITH THE FINAL DOCUMENT THAT EMERGES FROM BELGRADE. OUR POSSESSION OF THE DRAFT, WHICH WAS GIVEN US IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE, SHOULD NOT BE REVEALED TO HOST GOVERNMENTS AT THIS STAGE.

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2. DEFINITION OF NON-ALIGNMENT. YUGOSLAV DRAFT OPENS WITH A DISCUSSION OF ROLE OF THE NAM IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. YUGOSLAVS MOVE DIRECTLY TO THE CRUX OF THEIR IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTE WITH THE CUBANS BY DEFINING NON-ALIGNMENT AS A STRUGGLE AGAINST "IMPERIALISM,

COLONIALISM, NEOCOLONIALISM, RACISM, HEGEMONISM, AND ALL OTHER FORMS OF ALIEN DOMINATION, EXPLOITATION, AND POWER POLITICS." BY REITERATING THIS LANGUAGE OF THE HAVANA COMMUNIQUE, THE YUGOSLAVS PROBABLY HOPE TO AVOID ANOTHER LENGTHY DISPUTE WITH THE CUBANS OVER THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF THE MOVEMENT. THE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN WAGING AN INCREASINGLY SHARP PRESS CAMPAIGN, WITH THE YUGOSLAVS ACCUSING THE CUBANS (INDIRECTLY) OF "FALSE RADICALISM" AND OF ABANDONING THE NAM'S INDEPENDENT ANTI-BLOC POSITION BY SEEKING TO LINK IT WITH THE "SOCIALIST" STATES.

3. THE DRAFT ALSO CONDEMNS AT LENGTH FOREIGN INTERFERENCE BOTH FROM THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT. IT CONDEMNS TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS BUT ALSO REFERS INDIRECTLY TO THE USSR AND CUBA BY "REJECTING ALL ATTEMPTS TO JUSTIFY FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS UNDER ANY PRETEXT WHATSOEVER FROM WHATEVER QUARTER." IT ALSO NOTES THAT "INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS IS BECOMING ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL FORMS OF ATTACK AGAINST THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND THE UNITY OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES." INDIRECTLY, THE YUGOSLAVS APPEAR TO CONDEMN INTERVENTION IN CRISIS SITUATIONS IN AFRICA BY NON-AFRICAN ELEMENTS WHICH, THEY CONTEND, POLARIZES THE NAM. WHILE ADMITTING THE RIGHT OF EACH COUNTRY TO COMBAT AGGRESSION AND TO SEEK ASSISTANCE IN DOING SO, CONFIDENTIAL

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YUGOSLAVIA DRAWS THE LINE AT TRANSFORMING SUCH ASSISTANCE INTO AN INSTRUMENT OF INTERFERENCE.

4. ON THE QUESTION OF DETENTE THE DRAFT BLAMES

NEITHER THE US NOR THE USSR, MERELY NOTING THE NAM'S CONCERN OVER THE SETBACKS IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE AND THE DANGEROUS TENDENCIES TOWARD A REVIVAL OF THE COLD-WAR. THE DRAFT PLEDGES NAM WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH ALL COUNTRIES TO CREATE A WORLD ORDER FOUNDED ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

5. NAM UNITY. THE CORE OF THE YUGOSLAV APPROACH TO THE NAM WAS A STRONG PLEA FOR UNITY. THE DRAFT UNDERLINES "THE PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE OF UNITY AS A PRECONDITION TO THE REALIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT'S HISTORICAL ROLE." CONSEQUENTLY, THE MINISTERS "RESOLUTELY CONDEMN AND REJECT EVERY ATTEMPT TO IMPAIR ITS (NAM'S) UNITY AND SOLIDARITY ON ANY BASIS AND FOR ANY REASON WHATSOEVER." THERE MUST BE CONSISTENT ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT AND "DEMOCRATIC HARMONIZING

OF POSITIONS (CONSENSUS) ON CRUCIAL ISSUES." CONFLICTS THAT ARISE BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL NAM MEMBERS ARE NOT CHARACTERISTIC OF THE MOVEMENT. THERE IS A NEED FOR ALL MEMBERS TO WORK TOWARD STRENGTHENING UNITY BY FOSTERING SOLIDARITY AND PROMOTING MUTUAL COOPERATION, ABOVE ALL THROUGH COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE. CONFLICTS BETWEEN SOME MEMBERS COULD ENDANGER THE UNITY OF THE NAM AND WEAKEN ITS CAPACITY FOR ACTION. ALL DISPUTES SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY PEACEFUL MEANS "WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE AND RECOURSE TO PRESSURE, THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE."

6. YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL. THE DRAFT MAKES A SPECIAL APPEAL TO NAM MEMBERS INVOLVED IN DISPUTES TO MAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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EVERY EFFORT THEMSELVES TO REACH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS. IF OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE IS REQUIRED, THE PARTIES COULD TURN TO GOOD OFFICES EITHER OF THE OAU OR THE UN. IT WAS ESSENTIAL, HOWEVER, THAT PROCEDURES BE ESTABLISHED BEFORE HOSTILITIES. AT THIS POINT THE DRAFT REFERS TO YUGOSLAVIA'S PROPOSAL ON MEASURES FOR SETTLING DISPUTES, NOTING THAT THE CONFERENCE COULD EXAMINE THE MEANS OF ESTABLISHING APPROPRIATE AD HOC AND INFORMAL BODIES TO PROVIDE SUCH GOOD OFFICES.

7. MIDDLE EAST/PALESTINE. THE DRAFT DECLARATION REITERATES MANY OF THE POSITIONS ADOPTED BY THE NON-ALIGNED STATES AT PAST SESSIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE TEXT:

-- CONDEMNS ALLEGED ABUSES IN THE ISRAELI-OCCUPIED TERRITORIES;

-- REITERATES THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS,  
INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO ESTABLISH A STATE IN PALESTINE  
AND TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY PEACE EFFORT;

-- CONDEMNS THE ISRAELI INCURSION IN LEBANON;

-- CALLS ON ALL STATES TO PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR THE  
ARABS AND THE PLO AND TO AVOID STRENGTHENING THE  
ISRAELI MILITARY POTENTIAL;

-- CONDEMNS ISRAEL'S CONVENTIONAL ARMS BUILDUP AND  
ITS ALLEGED INTENTION TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS;

HOWEVER, IT OMITTS ANY CONDEMNATION OF ISRAELI ARMS  
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SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA;

-- MENTION OF AN ALLEGED US PLOT AGAINST PALESTINIAN  
NATIONAL RIGHTS; AND

-- REAFFIRMATION OF THE 1975 UNGA RESOLUTION EQUATING  
ZIONISM WITH RACISM.

THE DRAFT TRIES TO AVERT DIRECT CRITICISM OF SADAT'S  
INITIATIVE, WHICH PRECIPITATED THE MOST CONTENTIOUS  
DEBATE BETWEEN EGYPT AND SYRIA AT HAVANA, BY UNDER-  
SCORING THAT A SOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM  
MUST BE SOUGHT IN THE UN FRAMEWORK, CALLING ON  
THE UNGA TO UNDERTAKE OR RECOMMEND MEASURES TOWARD A  
COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT, AND STRESSING THAT THE  
PLO, AS THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN  
PEOPLES, MUST TAKE PART IN A RECONVENED GENEVA  
CONFERENCE. THIS LANGUAGE IS UNLIKELY TO SATISFY  
THE ARAB "STEADFAST FRONT," WHICH WILL ATTEMPT TO  
OBTAIN A MORE SPECIFIC CONDEMNATION OF THE SADAT  
INITIATIVE. THE RESULTS COULD BE ANOTHER  
"COMPROMISE" -- INDIRECT CRITICISM OF SADAT BY  
ACCUSING THE US OF PLOTTING TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT  
OVER THE HEADS OF THE PALESTINIANS.

YUGOSLAVIA INCLUDED TWO NEW POINTS IN ITS DRAFT:

-- CHARGING THE COORDINATING BUREAU IN NEW YORK  
WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RECOMMENDING MEASURES  
TO ENHANCE THE ROLE OF THE NAM IN THE PEACE PROCESS -- A  
REVIVAL OF AN EARLIER YUGOSLAV INITIATIVE OF 1975  
WHICH WAS SPIKED BY THE ALGERIANS; AND

-- CALLING FOR A SPECIAL UNGA ON THE PALESTINIAN  
PROBLEM IF ISRAEL CONTINUES TO REFUSE TO COMPLY WITH

UN "DECISIONS."  
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8. SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE BELGRADE DRAFT HEWS CLOSELY TO THE HAVANA COMMUNIQUE ON THESE ISSUES, A TREATMENT WHICH REFLECTED THE VIEWS OF THE AFRICAN CAUCUS. AS SUCH IT CONTAINS THE USUAL CALL FOR SUPPORT FOR THE FRONT-LINE STATES AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND FOR OSTRACISM AND CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA. THERE IS NO MENTION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR RHODESIA OR OF THOSE OF THE CONTACT GROUP FOR NAMIBIA; NOR IS THERE ANY CONDEMNATION BY NAM OF ANY WESTERN NATION (EXCEPT ISRAEL) FOR ITS RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. IN ADDITION, THE BELGRADE DRAFT:

-- REJECTS ANY "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" IN RHODESIA;

-- PROMISES TO GIVE FULL AND UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BUT STOPS SHORT OF ENDORSING THE FRONT'S RIGHT TO EXCLUSIVE RULE;

-- CALLS FOR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND ARMS AND PETROLEUM EMBARGOS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA;

-- ENDORSES THE SOUTH WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) AS THE "SOLE, TRUE AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE" OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIAN;

-- CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICA'S PREPARATIONS FOR AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" IN NAMIBIA AND FOR ILLEGALLY ANNEXING WALVIS BAY;

-- CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICA'S ALLEGED PLANS TO TEST  
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NUCLEAR DEVICES IN THE KALAHARI DESERT "WITH THE HELP OF CERTAIN WESTERN POWERS"; AND

-- CONDEMNS CERTAIN WESTERN COUNTRIES AND ESPECIALLY ISRAEL THAT CONTINUE TO SUPPLY ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COLLABORATE WITH IT IN THE NUCLEAR SPHERE.

IN ADDITION, THE YUGOSLAVS REVIVED A RECOMMENDATION OF THE 1977 NACB MEETING IN NEW DELHI TO SEND A NON-ALIGNED SOLIDARITY MISSION TO THE FRONT-LINE STATES AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND ENDORSED THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE HAVANA NACB FOR A SPECIAL NACB MINISTERIAL MEETING IN MAPUTO TO REVIEW THE

SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

9. PUERTO RICO. THE YUGOSLAV DRAFT TREATS THE SUBJECT IN ONE SENTENCE. IT RECALLS THE EARLIER POSITIONS OF THE NAM, CONFIRMS SUPPORT FOR THE LEGITIMATE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND CALLS FOR THE ADOPTION OF MEASURES TO THIS PURPOSE. THE ONLY CHANGE FROM HAVANA IS DELETION OF THE WORD "RAPID" IN CALLING FOR THE ADOPTION OF MEASURES.

10. KOREA. THERE IS A REARRANGEMENT AND SOFTENING OF THE POINTS USUALLY INCLUDED UNDER THIS ITEM INDICATING AN ATTEMPT TO LIMIT THE NUMBER OF RESERVATIONS, WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS VIEW AS

UNDERMINING THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS. THERE IS NO CALL FOR THE REMOVAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE WORD "UNCONDITIONAL" HAS BEEN DROPPED BEFORE THE CALL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS, AND THE DRAFT NOTES THE PROVOCATIVE MILITARY MANEUVERS IN SOUTH KOREA WITHOUT DEMANDING THEIR "IMMEDIATE CONFIDENTIAL

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CESSATION." NEVERTHELESS, THE OVERALL POSITION REMAINS THE SAME; TOTAL SUPPORT FOR NORTH KOREA.

AT THE LEAST, THE NORTH KOREANS WILL SEEK RESTORATION OF THE HAVANA LANGUAGE AND WILL BE QUICK TO TRY TO EXPLOIT ANY OPPORTUNITY TO TOUGHEN THE LANGUAGE FURTHER.

THE HAVANA LANGUAGE CALLS FOR THE IMMEDIATE "CESSATION OF THE NEW PROVOCATION MANEUVERS IN SOUTH KOREA" AND OF SCHEMES TO CREATE "TWO KOREAS"; SUPPORT FOR PEACEFUL AND INDEPENDENT REUNIFICATION BASED ON THE 1972 NORTH-SOUTH "THREE PRINCIPLES"; UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM THE SOUTH; REMOVAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; CLOSURE OF MILITARY BASES; DISSOLUTION OF THE UN COMMAND; AND REPLACEMENT OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT WITH A PEACE AGREEMENT.

11. HUMAN RIGHTS. FOR THE FIRST TIME A NAM DOCUMENT CONTAINS A SECTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE YUGOSLAVS, AS HOSTS OF THE BELGRADE MEETING WHICH REVIEWED IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, PROBABLY FELT COMPELLED TO SAY SOMETHING ON THE SUBJECT. TO THIS END, THE DRAFT EMPHASIZES THE YUGOSLAV VIEW OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE -- THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE AN INSTRUMENT OF RIVALRY BETWEEN POWER BLOCS, NOR BE USED TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL

AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN COUNTRIES NOR AS AN EXCUSE FOR  
THE CONFRONTATION OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS. THE DRAFT ALSO  
PLEDGES THE NAM TO WORK FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF  
UNGA RESOLUTION 32/130. THE U.S. ABSTAINED ON  
THIS RESOLUTION PRINCIPALLY BECAUSE IT APPEARED TO  
ASSIGN PRIORITY TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL  
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RIGHTS AS AGAINST CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. THE  
PROPOSED NAM DOCUMENT APPEARS TO AVOID THIS DEFICIENCY  
BY SPEAKING OF THE INSEPARABILITY OF ALL CATEGORIES  
OF RIGHTS, WITHOUT GIVING PRIORITY TO ANY CATEGORY.  
HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THE YUGOSLAV FORMULATION CAN  
BE READ TO EMPHASIZE THE PRIMACY OF COLLECTIVE GROUP  
RIGHTS OVER INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, WITH WHICH WE DO NOT  
AGREE.

12. INFORMATION-MASS MEDIA. YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN  
THE LEADER IN THE NAM, THROUGH ITS NATIONAL NEWS  
AGENCY, TANJUG, IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NAM NEWS AGENCY  
POOL. THE DRAFT HAILS STEPS TAKEN TOWARD THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL INFORMATION MEDIA BY NAM  
MEMBERS AS PART OF THE GENERAL ADVANCE TOWARD A  
NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER. IT CRITICIZES  
THE DOMINANCE OF THE MAJOR WESTERN NEWS AGENCIES  
OVER THE COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA BUT IN A VERY LOW-KEY  
MANNER AND CONCENTRATES ON THE INCREASING SELF-  
RELIANCE OF AND COOPERATION AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED  
IN THIS FIELD.

CHRISTOPHER

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /015 R

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APPROVED BY IO/SA:EMICHAL

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TO USINT HAVANA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 181405

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 181405 ACTION NONALIGNED MOVEMENT COLLECTIVE  
INFO ANKARA ASUNCION ATHENS BOGOTA BONN BRASILIA BRIDGETOWN BRUSSELS



BUCHAREST CANBERRA CARACAS COPENHAGEN GENEVA GUATEMALA THE HAGUE  
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QUOTE O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 181405

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PORG

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THE DRAFT TRIES TO AVERT DIRECT CRITICISM OF SADAT'S INITIATIVE, WHICH PRECIPITATED THE MOST CONTENTIOUS DEBATE BETWEEN EGYPT AND SYRIA AT HAVANA, BY UNDER-SCORING THAT A SOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM MUST BE SOUGHT IN THE UN FRAMEWORK, CALLING ON

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YUGOSLAVIA INCLUDED TWO NEW POINTS IN ITS DRAFT:

-- CHARGING THE COORDINATING BUREAU IN NEW YORK WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RECOMMENDING MEASURES TO ENHANCE THE ROLE OF THE NAM IN THE PEACE PROCESS -- A REVIVAL OF AN EARLIER YUGOSLAV INITIATIVE OF 1975 WHICH WAS SPIKED BY THE ALGERIANS; AND

-- CALLING FOR A SPECIAL UNGA ON THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IF ISRAEL CONTINUES TO REFUSE TO COMPLY WITH UN "DECISIONS."

8. SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE BELGRADE DRAFT HEWS CLOSELY TO THE HAVANA COMMUNIQUE ON THESE ISSUES, A TREATMENT WHICH REFLECTED THE VIEWS OF THE AFRICAN CAUCUS. AS SUCH IT CONTAINS THE USUAL CALL FOR SUPPORT FOR THE FRONT-LINE STATES AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND FOR OSTRACISM AND CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA. THERE IS NO MENTION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR RHODESIA OR OF THOSE OF THE CONTACT GROUP FOR NAMIBIA; NOR IS THERE ANY CONDEMNATION BY NAM OF ANY WESTERN NATION (EXCEPT ISRAEL) FOR ITS RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. IN ADDITION, THE BELGRADE DRAFT:

-- REJECTS ANY "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" IN RHODESIA;

-- PROMISES TO GIVE FULL AND UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BUT STOPS SHORT OF ENDORSING THE FRONT'S RIGHT TO EXCLUSIVE RULE;

-- CALLS FOR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND ARMS AND PETROLEUM EMBARGOS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA;  
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-- ENDORSES THE SOUTH WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S

ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) AS THE "SOLE, TRUE AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE" OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIAN;

-- CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICA'S PREPARATIONS FOR AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" IN NAMIBIA AND FOR ILLEGALLY ANNEXING WALVIS BAY;

-- CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICA'S ALLEGED PLANS TO TEST NUCLEAR DEVICES IN THE KALAHARI DESERT "WITH THE HELP OF CERTAIN WESTERN POWERS"; AND

-- CONDEMNS CERTAIN WESTERN COUNTRIES AND ESPECIALLY ISRAEL THAT CONTINUE TO SUPPLY ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COLLABORATE WITH IT IN THE NUCLEAR SPHERE.

IN ADDITION, THE YUGOSLAVS REVIVED A RECOMMENDATION OF THE 1977 NACB MEETING IN NEW DELHI TO SEND A NON-ALIGNED SOLIDARITY MISSION TO THE FRONT-LINE STATES AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND ENDORSED THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE HAVANA NACB FOR A SPECIAL NACB MINISTERIAL MEETING IN MAPUTO TO REVIEW THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

9. PUERTO RICO. THE YUGOSLAV DRAFT TREATS THE SUBJECT IN ONE SENTENCE. IT RECALLS THE EARLIER POSITIONS OF THE NAM, CONFIRMS SUPPORT FOR THE LEGITIMATE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND CALLS FOR THE ADOPTION OF MEASURES TO THIS PURPOSE. THE ONLY CHANGE FROM HAVANA IS DELETION OF THE WORD "RAPID" IN CALLING FOR THE ADOPTION OF MEASURES.

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10. KOREA. THERE IS A REARRANGEMENT AND SOFTENING OF THE POINTS USUALLY INCLUDED UNDER THIS ITEM INDICATING AN ATTEMPT TO LIMIT THE NUMBER OF RESERVATIONS, WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS VIEW AS

UNDERMINING THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS. THERE IS NO CALL FOR THE REMOVAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE WORD "UNCONDITIONAL" HAS BEEN DROPPED BEFORE THE CALL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS, AND THE DRAFT NOTES THE PROVOCATIVE MILITARY MANEUVERS IN SOUTH KOREA WITHOUT DEMANDING THEIR "IMMEDIATE CESSATION." NEVERTHELESS, THE OVERALL POSITION REMAINS THE SAME; TOTAL SUPPORT FOR NORTH KOREA.

AT THE LEAST, THE NORTH KOREANS WILL SEEK RESTORATION OF THE HAVANA LANGUAGE AND WILL BE

QUICK TO TRY TO EXPLOIT ANY OPPORTUNITY TO TOUGHEN THE LANGUAGE FURTHER. THE HAVANA LANGUAGE CALLS FOR THE IMMEDIATE "CESSATION OF THE NEW PROVOCATION MANEUVERS IN SOUTH KOREA" AND OF SCHEMES TO CREATE "TWO KOREAS"; SUPPORT FOR PEACEFUL AND INDEPENDENT REUNIFICATION BASED ON THE 1972 NORTH-SOUTH "THREE PRINCIPLES"; UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM THE SOUTH; REMOVAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; CLOSURE OF MILITARY BASES; DISSOLUTION OF THE UN COMMAND; AND REPLACEMENT OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT WITH A PEACE AGREEMENT.

11. HUMAN RIGHTS. FOR THE FIRST TIME A NAM DOCUMENT CONTAINS A SECTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE YUGOSLAVS, AS HOSTS OF THE BELGRADE MEETING WHICH REVIEWED IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI CONFIDENTIAL

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FINAL ACT, PROBABLY FELT COMPELLED TO SAY SOMETHING ON THE SUBJECT. TO THIS END, THE DRAFT EMPHASIZES THE YUGOSLAV VIEW OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE -- THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE AN INSTRUMENT OF RIVALRY BETWEEN POWER BLOCS, NOR BE USED TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN COUNTRIES NOR AS AN EXCUSE FOR THE CONFRONTATION OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS. THE DRAFT ALSO PLEDGES THE NAM TO WORK FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNGA RESOLUTION 32/130. THE U.S. ABSTAINED ON THIS RESOLUTION PRINCIPALLY BECAUSE IT APPEARED TO ASSIGN PRIORITY TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS AS AGAINST CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. THE PROPOSED NAM DOCUMENT APPEARS TO AVOID THIS DEFICIENCY BY SPEAKING OF THE INSEPARABILITY OF ALL CATEGORIES OF RIGHTS, WITHOUT GIVING PRIORITY TO ANY CATEGORY. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THE YUGOSLAV FORMULATION CAN BE READ TO EMPHASIZE THE PRIMACY OF COLLECTIVE GROUP RIGHTS OVER INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, WITH WHICH WE DO NOT AGREE.

12. INFORMATION-MASS MEDIA. YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN THE LEADER IN THE NAM, THROUGH ITS NATIONAL NEWS AGENCY, TANJUG, IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NAM NEWS AGENCY POOL. THE DRAFT HAILS STEPS TAKEN TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL INFORMATION MEDIA BY NAM MEMBERS AS PART OF THE GENERAL ADVANCE TOWARD A NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER. IT CRITICIZES THE DOMINANCE OF THE MAJOR WESTERN NEWS AGENCIES OVER THE COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA BUT IN A VERY LOW-KEY MANNER AND CONCENTRATES ON THE INCREASING SELF-RELIANCE OF AND COOPERATION AMONG THE NON--ALIGNED IN THIS FIELD. CHRISTOPHER UNQUOTE VANCE

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